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The Bacairi
[Os Bacaeris]

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[Title page]

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The Bacaeris

000 /218/ Study published in the Revista Brasileira, Year 1, Vols. III and IV, 1895.

101 /219/ The Bacaeris

The Bacaeris /Bacairi/ are Indians who inhabit the headwaters of the Tapajoz /Tapajós/ and the Xingú in Mato Grosso. Their name, which first appears in the logbooks of the bandeirantes /members of armed bands/ of the early eighteenth century, is later found repeatedly in travel accounts, scholarly works, and newspaper items. Since 1884/85 they have attracted the interest of the scientific world, which they fully deserve on account of the language that they speak, the ethnographic group to which they belong, the characteristic customs that they retain, and the dual aspect that they present, already subdued along the Tapajoz, still completely savage along the Xingú.

114 It was Dr. Carlos von den Steinen--assisted by our government, which put at their disposal a military school between Cuyabá /Cuiabá/ and the lower Xingú and defended the expedition between those two points--who, by studying them, opened what may be called without exaggeration a new era for our native ethnography. The results of this expedition may be summarized in a few lines (1).

[113] 1. Durch Zentral Brasilien /Through Central Brazil; see 1:Steinen, this file/, Leipzig, 1886.

114 101 First of all, he delimited the rather vague concept of "Cariba" /Carib/, a designation which, as the German traveler states so well, was given by the Europeans to all kinds of Indians

114 /219 cont./
101 and by the Indians to all kinds of Europeans. Since the time of D'Orbigny and Martius there has been a tendency to identify /220/ them with the Tupis. Baptista Caetano, inclined to-
[197] ward the same view, stressed as the principal basis for it the impure character of the idiom spoken by the Caribas, denying Hervas' contention that it was one of the four principal ones of South America.

114 "In my opinion," he wrote, "Kariba is not and could not
197 be a mother language. According to a study which I undertook (and which I regrettably could not carry further), it looks to me like an extraordinary mixture of several dialects of diverse origins; it is a veritable jargon, amalgamated from various dialects, which sometimes offers several phrases with different radicals and words in order to express the same thing, and sometimes a total lack of designations for other things. It is so confused that it can only be compared to what is heard in certain circles in Rio de Janeiro, where during a conversation in Portuguese one hears at the same time a phrase in English, another in Italian, a bit of Spanish or German, and all this more or less basted with Gallicisms." (Introduction to the second edition of Arte de grammatica da lingua... Kiriri /Nature of the grammar of the language... Kiriri (Cariri)/, by Luiz Vicenzio Mamiani, Rio, 1877, p. XII.)

197 This, which is accurate with regard to the Island Caribas, whom we know through Breton's works (2), does not apply,

[113] 2. Cf. Du parler des hommes et du parler des femmes dans la langue caraïbe /On men's speech and women's speech in the Carib language/, by Lucien Adam, Paris, 1879.

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197 however, to the language of the Bacaeris, which seems pure, nor, for example, to the Cumanagotas /Cumanagoto/ and Chaymas /Chaima/ of Venezuela and Colombia, belonging to the same group, for which there have been printed grammars and texts since 1683.

114 /221/ The second result was the finding of Cariba tribes
101 south of the Amazon, when those that were known had been found only north of the great river, such as the Crixanás, /Crichana/, Macuxis /Macusi/, and others. Directly afterward, it was proved that these were not the only ones: between the S. Francisco and Parnahiba /Parnaíba/ rivers, Martius recorded a short glossary of the language of the Pimenteiras, who proved to be Caribas; the Palmelas /Palmella/, too, with whom Dr. Severiano da Fonseca dealt on the Guaporé, were Caribas; more Caribas were found later by Dr. von den Steinen himself on one of the tributaries of the Xingú, the Culisewi, and by Dr. Paulo Ehrenreich on the lower Tocantins, where they are called Apiacás.

114 A more detailed knowledge of the purely Cariba languages
194 and the existence of tribes that spoke them south of the
197 Amazon raised the question: might it not have been from south of the Amazon toward the Caribbean Sea that the migrations of these tribes took place--rather than the opposite, as was accepted until then? Almost simultaneously this was answered in the affirmative by Dr. Carlos von den Steinen and by Sr. Lucien Adam, who from 1882 on published various glossaries by Crevaux, among which were some Cariba ones.

114 In order to study the subject better, Dr. Carlos von den Steinen went a second time, in 1888 and, again assisted by our government, explored the Pakunera and Culisewi rivers down to their mouths in the Culuéne, the easternmost of the headwaters of the Xingú.

/222/ Two books resulted from this journey: a monograph on the language of the Bacaeris (3), published in 1892; and the

114 /222 cont./
[113] 3. Die Bakairi Sprache /The Bacairi Language/, Leipzig, 1892.

account published in 1894, the richly illustrated, brilliantly written, forcefully conceived volume in which are discussed the main subjects of the primitive history of mankind, to sum up in a word, the richest modern contribution on all that touches upon our aborigines (4).

[113] 4. Unter den Naturvoelkern Zentral-Braziliens /Among the Primitive Peoples of Central Brazil; see 2:Steinen, this file/, Berlin, 1894.

114 At the same time that Dr. Steinen's book on the language
115 appeared, a Bacaeri was here, brought from the Paranatinga by Dr. Oscar de Miranda when he completed his difficult journey down that river to the Amazon. With this Indian, the author of these lines was able to study the German scholar's book word by word, and I cannot find words enough to express the admiration that was aroused in me by the exactitude of the phonetic transcription, the sharpness with which the grammatical forms had been discerned, and the thoroughness with which everything usable in the materials collected had been picked out. If the comparison be permitted in a country that boasts of being primarily agricultural, it might be said that his sugar mill, like one of the gigantic rollers in use today, squeezed out all the cane juice, leaving only the bagasse.

From that Indian, called Irineu, who will be designated with the initial "I," many texts were gathered--legends,
121 descriptions, traditions. The present /223/ work aims at a
114 partial presentation of this harvest. Based on the book by Dr. Steinen, whose system of phonetic transcription is adopted

/223 cont./

121 114 with slight variations, it is nevertheless more than a mere summary, for at several points our opinions differ, while at others heretofore unknown facts appear for the first time. This concerning the linguistic part, the subject of this first chapter. The divergence is even greater in the points that follow, which are based exclusively on what Irineu related.

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I

The Language of the Bacaeris

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[133] [103] The language of the Bacaeris (kxura itaio, tohi itano, that is, language of people, exactly like ab ñeẽ, the language of the Tupis) is spoken on the Rio Novo (Yeneriri), a tributary of the Arinos; on the Paranatinga (Pakunéra) a tributary of the Tapajoz; on the Tamitatoala, one of the headwaters of the Xingú, called Batovi by the Germans in honor of the baron of the same name, president of Mato Grosso in 1884, the time of the first expedition; on the Culisewi, a tributary of the Culuene, also a headwater (the easternmost one) of the Xingú. On the Oronuro, the westernmost headwater, there are no Indians who speak this language. From an examination of the vocabularies and the grammatical forms, it was proved that the Bacaeris belong to the Carahiba or Carib group.

194 Of the letters of our alphabet, F is foun in only one word, possibly onomatopoeic, which precedes incatations: aúfá, perhaps an imitation of the blowing out of smoke. V is rare, and in any case it is not pronounced as it geerally is in Rio de Janeiro, but rather seems to be bilabil. R is always soft, that is, to use the description by Gonçáves Vianna, "the air is expelled at one time, without intrruption, as in caro /'dear' in Port./, and not intermittentl, in successive contacts, more or less repeated, /225/ resuling from the vibration imparted by the active organ, as in carro /'cart' in Port./." G is slightly velar, and to differeniate it from ours

/225 cont./

194 the Greek y is used; it is always hard, as in gato /"cat" in Port./ and guerra /"war" in Port./. J is more like the English sound dj. X is always the French and our ch, German sch, English sh. Ç is preferred to S in order to avoid confusion. For the hard sound, K is substituted for C as well as Qu. H is always aspirated. Y and W are always used as semivowels. Ñ is our nh.

Sounds in no way similar to ours are the following:

λ, difficult to pronounce, and which perhaps only those who learned it as children can render satisfactorily: "I cannot define it any better than by saying that it stands between ri, ro, ru, on the one hand, and gl, on the other," writes Steinen (Bak. Spr., 255). Irineu utters it by raising his folded tongue to the upper teeth and then, or simultaneously, withdrawing it, or raising it, to the soft palate; it is thus a velar supradental. It appears only at the end of words, preceded by a which it lengthens considerably.

Kx is more velar than K.

ɤ is velar and corresponds to the Spanish j.

ŋ, which Dr. Steinen regards as a special nasal, is our final m or n, preceded by a short i, like tambem as pronounced in Rio de Janeiro.

The vowels are the same as ours, pure or nasalized.

In addition there is å, that is, a sound midway between open A and O, as in English "call," "all"; â, midway between á and ö; õ, corresponding to the German equivalent, or the French eu; /226/ ü, equivalent to the German and French u, but closer to i than to either of these.

The syllables consist either of a simple vowel or of consonants and a vowel.

Words end only in vowels, or in λ or ŋ. The final vowels are sometimes difficult to grasp because of their impurity, and it is necessary to resort to certain suffices, such as ɤe, lõ, mo, ba, in order to define them.

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194 There are no words beginning with b, except for bakaéri, or d, or x, or γ, or l, or r; two words given by Steinen with initial r are rendered more correctly: arapadura, Oronuro.

Initial p, m, t, k, kx, when transferred to the middle by the addition of prefixes and even of independent words, are transformed respectively into w, d, y. In the middle of words there is a frequent change of p to b, t to d, m to w, with nasalization of the preceding vowel; of y to ñ, l to r, r to n, ç to h.

The accent is put on the penult, except when the last syllable ends in λ or η, in which case the accent passes to it. The accent is also shifted when two words run together through elision: e.g., bakaéri, accent on the penult, on the é; bakaer'idamu, accent on the kãe, as though spelled bakãeridámu.

There are no diphthongs, properly speaking, but vowels may be compressed together in such a way as to produce the impression of diphthongs.

128 Now that the reader knows more or less how to read Kxura-itano, he may practice on the following text, /227/ which is accompanied by an interlinear translation; it will serve as the basis for a brief grammatical outline, and it is unpublished, like all those that we shall present.

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1 **Bakaéri, waráiu, kxaraiwa aceɣebidúo**
Bakaeri Tapuia Brazilian .when they quarreled

arinedili
.they became.

2 **Kxiwimári iewirâpadili**
Our captain became angry

3 **Aɣi amarémo tokedúo tohi**
Enough you /pl./ when he said people

ewánu iniɣadili.
their illness made it.

4 **Iniɣatúo idanára anaɣido âɣâ kxöiɣeli**
When made it all animal with we died

5 **Ilapüriñe emedili wâɣâ yamadili.**
Then dawn above became dark.

6 **Xixi eɣacého yamu inenaxúli.**
Sun his coming out dark closed-it.

7 **Inenaxudúo iɣawinu iniɣadili.**
When closed it cold made it.

8 **Xixi eɣacedúo yamadili.**
Sun when came out became dark.

9 **Yamatúo xirimúka eɣacëli.**
When became dark star came out.

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10 **Aɣö** **yamu** **iɣawinu** **iniɣadili.**
Quite dark cold made it.

11 **Aritúo** **udódo** **ahepanokeli.**
Then jaguar appeared.

12 **Péto** **aɣö** **aɣaetiño-modo** **iniɣadili.**
Fire enough ancients made it.

13 **Taxo** **ahitokili** **püreu** **ahitokili.**
Knife played arrow played.

14 **Tãwi-ɣe** **iɣedãri** **tunaneɳ**
Their hunger with those who did not die strong

niɣe-pa **tohinóhe.**
die not remain.

15 **Ilapüriñe** **iwerâ-pa-itúo** **xixi** **eɣacéli.**
Then today not being sun came out.

16 **Xixi** **kxurotaλ** **aɣaetiño-modo** **amiduadili.**
Sun midday ancients ate.

17 **Ilapüriñe** **aɣi** **xikidúo** **péto** **õro**
Then much slept fire earth

odákxa **eyaceli.**
inside came out.

18 **Xixi** **péto-ára** **idili.**
Sun fire like became.

19 **Ce** **adapikú-ɣe** **iɣéli.**
Tree heat with died.

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20 **Páru çavéli.**
Water dried.

21 **Páru çavedúo kxãna iɣéli.**
Water when dried fish died.

22 **Kxána iɣedúo cenena kxana**
Fish when dried urubu fish

çani.
ate-it.

23 **Páru çavedúo anaɣido iɣéli páru**
Water when dried animal died water

tinenedili.
wanted to drink.

24 **Apa anáhi idanára iɣéli.**
Mandioca maize all died.

25 **Áritibiñe kxõiɣeli.**
Then we died.

26 **Kxõiɣedúo cenerá-la kxani.**
When we died urubu ate us.

27 **Ãráɣi kxapũráne be-ba awiliɣe.**
Someone buries us is not thus.

28 **Idanára anaɣido iɣeli.**
All animals died.

29 **Aritibiñe ayi-pa kxitúo**
Then many not when we remained

192 /230/ **kxiwimári parutába inepehenili.**
193 our captain sea blessed it (blew).
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30 **Aritúo parutába ayo-idíli, péto enaxekili.**
Then sea rose, fire put it out

31 **Kxaraiwa idamú-do niõretudíli.**
Brazilian his grandfathers dreamed-it.

32 **Mâra núna iwâyâ parutába ivehe**
That moon over sea will swell

yamũra keli.
spirit said.

33 **Tonudõ- na keduo miyewadili-la**
His people for when said you lie

iunudo keli.
his people said.

34 **Tunudo kedúo pi inanadili.**
His people when said ax picked it up.

35 **Pepi ima xiyace.**
Canoe large made it.

36 **Ata takxaheŋ pepi.**
House high canoe.

37 **Ilãe tipiniri inadili pepi odaλ.**
Then his food takes it canoe inside.

38 **Ilãe kxopáe timeri tiwũdi**
Then at night his child his wife

/231/ áyâ anela oxedili.
with alone sailed.

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539 39 Oxedibi-ñe parutaba çaloloxúli.
When he sailed sea rose.

40 Çaloloxuli kxopae.
Rose at night.

41 Aritúo idanara anaɣido ayâ kxõiyẽli.
Then all animal with we died.

42 Tõiwedúo çaɣuno iniɣadili.
When swelled sand made it.

43 Iwerâ-pa mâra tapiku wàyâ çavelli.
Today not that heat above came down.

44 Çavedúo çaɣúno tuxũe
When came down sand stone to

aturudili
turned.

45 Ilapũriñe õro acemakẽli.
Then the earth is exchanged.

46 Kxái-na õro idâli.
Sky to earth went.

45 A?/ Idâdúo kxáu ayâ-na xirimúca idâli.
When went sky with star went.

48 Pimiri ara tawõyeɳ aturudili.
Ant like flying thing became.

192 /232/49 **Tawõyen atuɣədili kʉʉnopio ara.**
193 Flying thing became little bird like.
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50 **Idanãra anaɣido ara kʉʉdatuɣədili.**
All animals like we became.

51 **Ilapũriñe ayõkʉʉtúo tohi ewanu-ɣe**
Then when we grew our work with

kʉʉdacenomedadili.
we learned.

52 **Idu-pe-ba ilapũriñe pohi ara**
Forest there was not then grass like

idu yahele.
forest grew.

53 **Mãra adapiku wãyã apa**
That heat over manioca

ewili ipũri-bũri eɣaheli
its fruit its old seed germinated

pohi amã.
grass (campo) middle of.

193 Before giving the translation of this text, let us take it as the theme to accompany a few grammatical explanations.

One fact strikes us at once: the sentences follow one another, each usually with only one verb, without interdependence or subordination. In other words: as far as syntax is concerned, Kʉʉra-itano uses parataxis exclusively. /233/ The greatest complexity attained by the sentence is that of apposition, enumeration, or parallelism, which does not exceed the scope of parataxis.

/233 cont./

193 In the sentence, the subject comes first, the verb last; the object, when required, is placed between the two. It may precede the subject when logically there is no possibility of confusion. Thus, a Bacaeri will say either Pohi ta/uhe pocéka, or poceka ta/uhe poji, or poceka pohi ta/uhe, because he knows that the pig eats grass and grass does not eat pig.

The reader will hardly overlook the frequency with which substantives and verbs end in l or r followed by a vowel. This is because K'ura-itano has a particle, which Steinen writes lö, used to indicate emphasis. In the language of the Chaymas it is also used: "And for the term meaning 'also' /tambien/, they were accustomed to add the syllable re to the ends of words, e.g., for vche, 'I,' they say vchére, 'I also'" /translated from the Spanish/. (Tauste, Arte y bocabulario de la lengua de los Indios Chaymas /Nature and vocabulary of the language of the Chaima Indians/, Madrid, 1680, reprinted in facsimile by Platzmann in Leipzig, 1888, p. 46). The same thing is noted with slight variations in all Carahiba languages. Lö may be changed to na, as in No. 47 /see p. 12/, or to ñe.

Also deserving of attention are the endings di-li, wi-li, ki-li of the verbs, different auxiliary forms, sometimes equivalent to the English "do," sometimes to "to have," "to be," "to become," sometimes merely emphatic. The early grammarians called their equivalent in other languages a substantive verb, a well chosen term; it should be noted, however, that they have nothing in common /234/ with the verb "to be"; sentences such as "The captain is rich" are expressed by the Bacaeri with a mere juxtaposition of the words, Pima tisehikkener.

The manner in which thought is expressed makes it plain that logical subordination is rudimentary. The Indian is carried along by a series of ideas and goes on with them up to a certain point; then he goes back and does likewise with the others; sentences far apart represent the same chronological moment; what would seem to us most natural if placed at the

193 /234 cont./
end is broached by them from the very beginning; in short, this is a formal parataxis which corresponds to the condominium of impressions and undulation of ideas.

From what has been said it can be readily deduced that there are neither conjunctions nor the conjunctive in Kʷura-itano.

Passing now to the parts of speech, we note immediately that the substantive expresses, beside the idea of a thing or person, the idea of time. Tuɣ̃e, No. 44, is a future or at least a supine: strictly speaking, it means--to stone /para pedra/. The supine of nouns is formed by adding to the word the suffix ɾ̃e, of which, however, only the e is retained, while the vowel that precedes it is nasalized. The present tense is the word alone, or with the mere addition of e. The past is formed by the addition of pũri, or bũri, which performs the same function as cuer or puer in the language of the Tupis and Guaranis.

One example will show this better: iwũdi, "married woman," expresses the present tense, iwũdie, the future; iwũdipũri designates a woman who has been married but is no longer, either because her husband died, in which case it is synonymous with "widow," or because she herself died, /235/ in which case it may be translated as "late wife," or simply because her husband left her.

In the same way as the particle cuer in aba-ɾ̃eẽ, so can pũri or bũri indicate the plural in the Bacaeri. From this may be drawn a conclusion so spontaneous and natural that it must perforce be false and cannot be trusted: the Indians regard the noun as representing one: imeri, 1 son: imeobũre, sons--ex.: 1 son. Subtleties of this kind are not alien to the American aborigines: "The Indian will say aypapa vaca and not vacaretá, because if he has counted them, there cannot be one" /translated from the Spanish/ (Restivo, Arte de la lengua guarany /Nature of the Guarani language/, p. 12, publ. Seybold, Stuttgart, 1892).

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[114] That the substantives have a plural has been contested; just recently, Sr. Lucien Adam maintained "that the Bakairi is the only one of the adequately known (Carib) dialects in which distinctions of number are not expressed by any suffix" /translated from the French/ (5); nevertheless they do exist

[113]

5. Matériaux pour servir à l'établissement d'une grammaire comparée des dialectes de la famille caribe /Materials to serve for setting up a comparative grammar of the dialects of the Carib family/, Paris, 1893, a book of extraordinary value for the study of difficult problems.

and there are no fewer than three endings which indicate plural. The first is modo: afaetiño, "ancient," afaetiño-modo, "ancients." The second one is mo: pekodo, "woman," pekodómo, "women." The third one is do: idamu, "his grandfather," idamudo, "his grandfathers." Let it be noted, however, that the Bacaeris, although they have a fine verb with which to count (imperative, capotéra), do not count beyond three, and thus numbers are of little importance to them. Let it be noted further that the word idandra means [illegible] /236/ other words, in their minds the concepts of plurality and totality have not been differentiated, resulting in many words, principally ending in do, in which the concept of plural does not exist, for example, yunu, "his blood," yunudo, "his people"--that is, "his bloods."

There is little to be said concerning gender.

There are words which may be called masculine, such as ududo, "man," or feminine, such as arekuma, "hen." The sole vestige of grammatical gender, however, is found in the demonstratives: mîka, mîka, mera, êra, inara are used

193 /236 cont./
in connection with people or animate beings: mára, ara, hira, xira, awóre, ita, only with inanimate things.

The adjectival relation, or restrictive complement, as others call it, is expressed through the addition of the possessive index to the object possessed: thus, u/urodo eti = "man his house" = "the house of the man"; arekuuma ico = "hen her husband" = "husband of the hen," or rooster.

The possessive indices are divided into two series: one is--ic for the first person, i for the second, e for the third person; thus, ĺta, "house" in the absolute sense, without indicating the owner; ĺeti, "my house"; iti, "your house"; eti, "his house"; iewári, "my arm"; iwári, "your arm"; ewári, "his arm." This must be the older form, which is being driven out by the other series: i for the first and third persons, ĺ, a, ĺ, o for the second. For the third person there are also: ç as in çawári, "his arm," n as in nyni, "his father," and x. In addition, there is the reciprocal: t, see Nos. 37 and 38 /see p. 11/.

The addition of the possessive almost always /237/ modifies the word's initial consonant. Thus, pepí, "canoe," without any designation of the owner, ĵa: the p changed to w if we wish to state who this is: pima iweperi, "captain his canoe" = "canoe of the captain"; mayaku, "basket," uramudo, "boy," gives uramúdo iwayakíru, "boy his basket"; tunáta, "bath," piahi, "curer" (not "sorcerer"), piahi idunatari, "curer his bath" = "bath of the curer." We have already indicated above the chief possessive changes; the last syllable in the names of objects possessed is the particle l or r followed by a vowel, which has already been referred to.

The most common personal pronouns are: for the first person, ura in the singular, kzura in the plural; for the second, ama; for the third, the determinatives already referred to with regard to the gender of the substantives. It can be questioned whether kzura and hina mean "we" or "people" /indefinite persons; Port., a gente/, French on, German man, and the old Portuguese homem, now obsolete. In any case, the concept of

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193 first-person plural inclusive and exclusive, familiar in the aba-ñeP, is alien to the Kïkura-itano. Amaremo, "you," second person plural, is obviously of secondary formation: mo indicates plural, re is the emphatic particle, and ama is the pronoun for the second person singular.

Another series of lesser used pronouns: abe, mabe, kaidabe.

The adjective, generally put after the substantive, is, like the latter, affected by time and number. Comparatives are avoided. A concept close to that of the superlative is expressed either with the emphatic particle or by means of the addition of certain words such as ikïkïru, "indeed" (comparable to the French bon, tout de /238/ bon, kïkura in the Bacaeri has, among others, the meaning of "good"); Iwakukeba, "it is not a joke," etc.

193 The determinatives are affected by time and number.
801 There are only three cardinal numbers: tokale, "one"; ahaŕe, "two"; ahewah or ahewaneia, "three." Steinen gave to Antonio, the Indian who was his informant in the Xingú region, the following sentence, "At first he (the child) walks like an animal, on all fours," and obtained only: ca/ŕe anaŕito ara ïhe iwodo adakïtobodili, that is, "he walks with the two arms." To the minds of the Bacaeris, rather than to produce a number four, it seemed easier to invent a whole story whereby Cemiamu (Morcego /bat/) had a son by the daughter of Pau de Morcego /"Bat wood"; Andira/ (Pödiki), and, when he found out about the paternity, he became angry at the child, breaking its knees with an arrow; since then children walk first with the two arms before they walk with the two feet (6).

826
773 6. The matter of knees seems to have caused the minds of the Bacaeris much trouble. Mapiamkai, one of their ancestors, had knees like those of a

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chicken; having won a race against Keri and Came, however, the latter broke them, and since then the knees of human beings have been as they are today.

193 As for adverbs, suffice it to say that they follow or precede the verb and may receive possesive and time.

Prepositions, which are numerous, always come after the substantive, and we shall give merely: da, which indicates "place where"; eina or eira, "place to where," generally elided to ra or na, with the preceding vowel nasalized; obe, bro, "upon"; ap, "with," meaning company, ?c, "with," instrument. The preposition de /Port./, in the sense of the English "from" or the German aus, is represented by a complicated form.

/239/ An explanation of the verbs, however superficial, would take us far afield: many points are yet to be studied, and while we are familiar with the common forms, they are not yet sufficiently analyzed.

Steinen divides verbs into two classes, in one of which the preterit is formed with taki, in the other with taki; we may accept this classification, which, on the whole, is satisfactory and lends itself perfectly to our present purposes.

Verbs have two affirmative imperatives in the second person singular, and one negative; they also have what may be called an imperative of the first person plural.

The indicative has three past tenses, which may be called remote /remoto/, intermediate /médio/, and immediate /flagrante/, since the latter, which is formed with raki or taki, may also indicate the immediate future or present.

They would seem to have two present tenses: one, in which he or ce is added to the radical, and followed by the personal pronoun; the other, uniting personal pronouns, the radical of the verb, and the auxiliary of the substantive verb,

/239 cont./

193 which has already been mentioned. Regarding these possible present tenses, however, it should be borne in mind that they often express the past and the remote past, as in the passage copied above. It would be simpler to regard them as forms of the infinitive, chiefly because they admit postpositions and thus function as substantives; it should be borne in mind, however, that I. when designating an act carried out at the very moment when he was speaking, always used the form in combination with the auxiliary whenever the verb permitted it.

/240/ The future is formed with an auxiliary ice, which means "to like," added to the present, and it is seldom used.

There are active, passive, and supine participles.

In any tense, the endings are added following the radical and do not vary with the persons except when mo is added to indicate plural; the pronouns which precede the radical vary a great deal, however, presenting what the grammarians of the abañe call "transitions." Thus, if we say "I kill," it is necessary to specify whom in the pronoun or pronouns which precede the radical, and this gives two possible forms, "I kill you," or "I kill him"; in the second person, three possible forms, "you kill me," "you kill him," "you kill us"; in the third person, four possible forms, "he kills me," "he kills you," "he kills him," "he kills us"; in the first person plural, two possible forms, "we kill you," "we kill him." The second person plural and the third do not differ from the singular. We have, as a result, 11 possible forms for each tense, in principle; in reality, some of them have been obliterated and merged, if, indeed, they ever existed, and now there are not more than seven at the most, as we shall see below. Obviously, this is the case for only transitive verbs.

The transitive verbs that undergo least alteration are the reflexives, since the action can only be exercised upon the agent, which is itself the person, and the verbs such as "to tell," "to give," "to say," etc., which generally demand a complement of person, to whom one tells, gives, or says

/240 cont./

193 something. Since the acaeris indicate this person /241/ separately from the ve and clearly with postposition, and the thing told, said, or giv n is always third person, it follows that in such cases there are no transitions, and the forms are merely three for the si ular and one for the plural.

As for the reflexiv verbs and the transitive ones, which only take objects in the third person, the pronouns which precede the radical are ko in the first person, m in the second, a vowel, usually i or n /sic/, in the third, and kxi or k/id in the first person plural.

Intransitive verbs ten take ie or i in the first person, e or a in the second, y o i or n in the third, like the substantives accompanied by posse ives.

Verbs in taki and aki both have their special negative conjugation, the form in pūri, the latter in pa.

In the third perso singular there is a special form which has approximately a ssive meaning: the object and the verb are used without the ject.

Now for the para gms of the principal tenses of two verbs which were selected liberately with almost identical radicals: i/atu, "to run," and /atu, "to tell, to narrate." The former pertains to the taki co ugation; the latter, to the raki conjugation--from which c ne the differences which are immediately apparent in the ter oral suffixe; postposed to the respective radicals. The former intransitive; the latter is uni-transitive, that is, it does not ha the 11 pronominal transitions, and from this come the equally great differences in the personal affixes which precede the respective radicals.

193 /242/ Radical: i-ɣatu, "to run." E-ɣatu, "to tell."

Imperative	2 s.	*i-ɣatu-ɣa, i-ɣatu-da*	e-ɣatú-ɣa, e-ɣatúra.
	1 pl.	kxa-ɣatúne	kxie-ɣatũ-re.
Neg.	2 s.	t-ɵɣatú-hé-ba	kxoe-ɣátu.
Remote Past	1	yõ-ɣatũ-ma	c-eɣatũwa.
	2	i-ɣatũ-ma	m-eɣatũwa.
	3	e-ɣatũ-ma	n-eɣatũ-wa.
	1 pl.	kxõ-ɣatũ-ma	kxi-eɣatũ-wa.
Intermediate P.	1	ie-ɣatu-da	c-eɣátu.
	2	i-ɣatu-da	m-eɣátu.
	3	ne-ɣatu-da	n-eɣátu.
	1 pl.	kxõ-ɣatu-da	kxi-eɣátu.
Immediate P. A	1	ie-ɣatu-dai	c-eɣatu-raki.
	2	i-ɣatu-dai	m-eɣatu-raki.
	3	n-eɣatu-dai	n-eɣatu-raki.
	1 pl.	kxõ-ɣatu-dai	kxi-eɣatu-raki.
Immed. Past B	1	ie-ɣatu-taki	
	2	i-ɣatu-taki	
	3	n-eɣatu-taki	
	1 pl.	kxõ-ɣatu-taki	
Pres. A		ie-ɣatu-di-li	kxa-n-eɣatú-li.
		i-ɣatu-di-li	ma-n-eɣatu-li.
		e-ɣatu-di-li	i-n-eɣatú-li.
		kxõ-ɣatu-di-li	kxi-n-eɣatu-li.
Pres. B		ɣatú-he (for all persons)	eɣatú-he (for all persons).
Negative Pres.	1	ie-ɣatu-bũra	kxa-n-eɣatu-ba.
	2	i-ɣatu-bũra	ma-n-eɣatu-ba.
	3	e-ɣatu-bũra	ma-n-eɣatu-ba.
	3	n-eɣatu-bũra	n-eɣatu-ba.
	1 pl.	kxõ-ɣatu-bũra	kxi-n-eɣatu-ba.
Act. Part.		ɣatu-heni	eɣatu-heni.
Pass. Part.		ɣatu-dibi	eɣatu-ribi.
Supine		ɣatu-dõe	eɣatu-hõe.

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193 The verbs in raki and taki are governed by these two paradigms as far as the affixes postposed to the radical and indicative of tense are concerned; the paradigm for eyatu, "to tell," is used for the verbs which may be called unitransitive, either because they are reflexive and the action is communicated only to the subject performing it--identity of subject and object--or because, aside from the complement of thing they demand one of person, and while the former is expressed by incorporation in the radical, the latter, the only one which could change, is expressed by the Bacaeris separately from the radical of the verb.

The case of the multi-transitive verbs is complex, and demands the study of what the Jesuit grammarians--in spite of the defective method which led them to apply the standards of Latin to the idioms of the New World--minds of unusual linguistic discernment and insight, called transitions /transições/ in connection with the abá-ñeẽ.

Taking the radical çatõ (Bak. Sprache, 143), we find that çatõ-he is one of the indicative presents and means "I cut, you cut, he cuts, we cut, you cut, they cut." This is sufficient to show how right Steinen is when he considers it a grammatical myth to say that in the Cariba languages ç represents the first person pronoun. (B. Sp., 281/291).

If, however, we wish to say, "you cut me," we shall have i-atõhe, which also means "he cuts me." If we wish to say, "I cut you," we shall have a-tõ-he, which also means "he cuts you" or "we cut you." If we say ka-atõhe, it may mean either "you cut us" or "he cuts us," which leads one to conclude that the /244/ ç in çatõ-he corresponds to the object in the third person, and that çatõhe means "I, you, he, we, you, or they cut it." This is indeed the case, which certainly does not favor Steinen, when, in his admirable endeavor to reconstruct the primitive Cariba (Karaïbische Grundsprache) spoken by the various tribes before their separation, he classifies the ç, with its many phonetic variations, as a verb radical.

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193 To go on to the other present, we find for eɣatu the following forms: kɣa-n-atö-li, ma-n-atöl-i, i-n-atö-li, Kɣi-n-atö-li. We have already learned with respect to eɣatu that Kɣ, m, i, Kɣi mean respectively "I," "you," "he," "we"; since Kɣanatöli, however, does not simply mean "I cut," but "I cut it," would it be rash to conclude that in these forms n represents the object in the third person? No, indeed, for if we wish to say "you or he cut me," we have iatöli, in which there is no n; "I, he, or we cut you," atöli; "you or he cuts us," Kɣâtöli, in which there is no n either.

In summarizing these facts, we arrive at the following results:

1. In multi-transitive verbs, the present in he or ce may undergo only four modifications, since there are that number of possible personal objects which can be added to the verb radical, preceding it;

2. In the present in di-li, ki-li, wi-li, or simply lö, when the object is in the third person, there are four possible modifications, because the character of the language demands in such a case that, aside from the patient pronoun, /245/ which does not vary, the agent pronouns, which are four in number, be added to the radical, preceding it;

3. In the first and second persons singular and the first person plural, since it is a matter of the person who is speaking or spoken to, persons present, only the objective pronoun is used, and since there are only three, two for the singular and one for the plural, there are only three transitions.

Thus the transitions, which we referred to above as possibly adding up to 11, do not add up to more than seven in one case and four in the other; 11 in all, but in different categories.

Thus, after a long detour, we return once more to the pronouns.

[114] With much justification, the Jesuits claim that in the abá-ñeẽ the pronouns belong to two different classes.

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114 193 "The personal pronouns," says the greatly missed Baptista Caetano, "are divided into two well characterized orders, namely: the first, of the agent or denominative pronouns, and the second, of the patient or accusative pronouns and of the governed cases. Both of them are preposed to the verbs, in accordance with the most general rule...And when both occur together, the patient one is the one immediately next to the verb" (7).

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7. Annaes da Bibliotheca Nacional, VI. 8, Rio, 1879.

193 The same is to be observed in the Kxura-itano. And the patient or objective pronouns are identical to the possessives, which is another proof of how little differentiation there is as yet between verb and substantive, transitive and intransitive verb, in this idiom.

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193 Here is now a list of the personal pronous, divided into the two classes of

	Agent Pronouns	Patient Pronouns
1	*u, ura, ahe, kx (a)*	*ie, i, u*
2	*m (a), ama, mahe*	*a, ai, e*
3	*a, ę, i, a*	*ę́, i, n, ç*
4	*kxi (d), kxidahe, kxura, hina, ina*	*kx.*

The reciprocal is *t, d, ç, h, x.*

193 539 There follows a free translation of the page given above (8), for which a good knowledge of kxũr-itano is needed

8. From ewâri, "arm," which is the same as çawõli, "wing," comes the verb apari (Bakairi Sprache, pp. 82 and 108), which means "to swim." ikiwáru mean "the river is swimming"--rapids; kxudupi paru ohe yuwaru (B. Sp. p. 82), "the gourd is swimming in the river." It seems that aside from paru, which is very commo and tuna, retained only in tunata the Bacaeris also have for "water i or ik, which we find in the preposition ikale, "inside," whic [illegible] Accord is applied only to water. Acc[illegible] ing to Irineu, when they wish to ask whether an animal lives in the river or on land, they commonly use the phrase: adik, õro par-ikano menoro. If it is a land animal, the answer is: par-ikano keba menoro. (Cf. B. S., p. 31.)

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in order to understand the interlinear translation. Its subject matter is the destruction of the world by fire and flood.

This is what happened to the Bacaeris, the Brazilians, the Tapuias /Tapuya/ after they quarreled. --Our captain became angry;--enough, he said, and made the people's illness, and with the other animals we all died. --Then at dawn it became dark;--the darkness stopped the sun from coming out, --when it stopped it, it caused the cold;--after sun came out, the darkness continued;--with the darkness the stars came out;--the darkness caused much cold.

/247/ Then the jaguars appeared; the ancients made much fire; the knives fought with the knives, the arrows fought with the arrows;--those who did not die of hunger, the strong ones, do not die anymore, they remain. --Then, after a time, the sun came out; the ancients ate at midday. --Then, having slept for many nights, fire came out from inside the earth;--the fire was like the sun; the trees died from the heat; the rivers dried up; -when they dried up, the fish died, --and the urubu ate the fish. --When the rivers dried up, the animals died of thirst;--mandioca, maize, they died out altogether. --Then we ourselves died, --and the urubu ate us because there was no one to bury us. --All the animals died. --After we had been reduced to a few, our captain blessed the sea;--then the sea rose and put out the fire.

The grandfathers of the Brazilians dreamed;--in the next moon the sea will swell, the spirits said to them. When he told this to his people: you are lying, his people said to him. --Then he took his ax, --made a large canoe, - tall as a house; he took his food inside the canoe; at night, alone with his wife and children, he embarked. --When he embarked, the sea rose, it rose at night. Then with all the animals we died.

When the sea rose it made the sand. --After a year it came down--and the sand turned into stone. Then the sky

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539 and the earth changed places; the earth went to the sky, the sky came to the earth with the stars.

Flying things arose in the form of ants;--then the flying things became little birds;--we all turned into animals.--Then, when we grew, we learned to work;--there was no forest;--then the forest arose as grass.--In the next year the mandioca fruits burst out in the middle of the campo.

/248/ Before closing, here are a few indications concerning the formation of the words.

193 The derivative adjective is often formed by adding t to the substantive, and the ending neŋ or ɾeŋ to indicate presence, and neni or neri or ɾeni to indicate absence; for example, isehike, "goods, baggage," tisehikeneŋ, "rich," tisehikeneri, "poor"; odo or ɾodo, "lord," todoneŋ, "belonging to another" (literally, "has owner"); ɾawõri, "wing," tawõɾeŋ, "flying thing" (9).

9. The passage cited is not part of what has been published.

ɾe is also used to form adjectives, but its chief role is with verbs, to which it always lends the idea of destruction or dismantlement: thus, from itubi, "peeling," is made kɨanituɾeli, "I peeled off"; acemakeɾa, "to run away" ("elude the grasp"); iɾuru, "foot," iɾuɾeli, "to fall."

The reflexive verbs are formed by adding to the radical the patient pronoun represented by h, for example, kɨahinaraki, "I remained" ("I left myself"), while xinoraki is active and means "I left him," ihipanɨkeli, "appeared (himself)," inepanɨkeli, "caused to appear," or they are represented by ɾ or ɾ, for example, axodili, "is found," iniodili, "finds him," or by d or t, adɨile, "comes to an end," inɨili, "puts an end to it."

The idea of repetition is obtained by introducing nono between the verbal radical and the temporal index: eɾatuhe, "I tell," eɾatunono-he, "I again tell."

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128 These few lines indicate how much could be done on these grounds yet to be explored.

/249/ And now that this linguistic step has been overcome and the reader already has a slight idea of the sounds and forms of Kɤura-itano, let us question the Bacaeris concerning their conception of the world, family, and society, their cultural acquisitions, their migrations, etc.

Four, or at most five points will suffice for this.

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II

The Conception of the World

The Bacaeris believe that man consists of two elements: kɤa/atopũri, "our shadow, going /apdadura/ or running /corrida/," and kɤati, "our shirt," or kɤutubi, "our skin." They may be translated as "body and soul," but the translation is inadequate.

The shadow puts on and takes off its shirt with ease and often, going out and coming in, now normally, now abnormally, now temporarily, now permanently.

The egress is normal when there is shouting, because the shadow, with the same speed with which it goes to the place where the echo rebounds, returns to its skin, or when one is sleeping and dreaming. When sleep becomes agitated, it indicates the ascent of hills, the fording of streams, or evil encounters. The person who is asleep is not awakened, for the shadow may not yet have put its shirt back on (10).

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10. Matias Ruiz Blanco in his Conversión de Piritú /Conversion of Piritu/, published in 1690, gives a variant of the same idea among the Indians of that region, who, like the Bacaeris, were also

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Caribas: "The manner of greeting is for one to say to another, 'Is it you? Have you come? Have you arrived? Are you well?' and no one speaks to the guests upon their arrival, nor do they speak for a while, because they say that they are waiting for their souls to arrive, which is arrant nonsense." (Conv. en Piritũ, 62, repr. Madrid, 1892.) The greeting between Bacaeris is ama, "you," to which one replies, ura, "I"; or mawiji, "you came," to which one replies, ẽẽ kyauili, "yes I came."

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774 When we sleep, we dream says the piahi;--when we sleep, our shadow converses with the /251/ spirits (yamũra);--our shadow travels far,--when our shadow returns, we awaken;--when our shadow is afraid, at night, when it is time to sleep, we talk;--while our shadow sleeps, we dream;--we climb trees, we climb hills;--we walk with the yamũras,--we drink minɨ̃u /a manioc gruel or paste/, we eat, etc.

The egress is abnormal, but temporary, when a person faints from fright, because, with much shouting and fanning with ipenakóro leaves, there is success in getting the shadow to return, or when one has offended the piahi; and yamũra, because, if duly propitiated, they pardon the crime and permit the shadow to return, as we shall see later.

It is abnormal and permanent at death.

[illegible]

75 The Bacaeris, in a very expressive phrase, claim that they do not fall ill from sickness itself (to-ewanũ-ɟe Bakaéri tõwane-pa); illness is always injected by sorcerers (ome-odo, "lord of poison"), and the poisons, all of vegetable origin, are

75 /251 cont./
first and foremost jatobá /Hymnenaea/, then copaiba, the white or yellow trumpetbush /peúva de fîbres brancas ou amarellas/, the vinhatico, the pindahiba /Xylopia/, etc. Knowing this, the first concern of the curer (piahi) called to treat the sick is to extract the sliver of wood that causes the discomfort, which is achieved by sucking on the patient.

764 795 [302] [301] Sometimes, in spite of the treatment, the latter dies. Then the dead man is painted with urucú (anoto); there are put in his ears and nostrils the feathers that adorned them in life; his belongings (icehiko) are gathered up, such as bow, arrows, etc., which are deposited along with their owner /252/ in the hole that will serve as grave, well covered with earth stamped down with the feet. In the afternoon the shadow rises in the guise of the curiangu (Pokurâu, Caprimulgus) and comes to drink mingâu, which was placed at the grave, on the spot that corresponds to the head. After a while it no longer returns.

795 The Bacaeris also speak of kʉadopa, which is equivalent to our hobgoblins or lost souls and, it would seem, are the shadows of those who died a violent death. The following passage describes most clearly what is said concerning these beings.

Kʉadopa goes wandering in the afternoon, say: the piahi; it is all bone; it has holes for eyes; it wanders through the forest; manioc is its food; it wanders in the cultivated clearings; caterpillars, bicho de pau /"wood insect"/ and ants are its food; it comes to the house to drink mingâu (po'u); take the food of the kʉadopa outside, take beiju /manioc cakes/ and pirão /boiled manioc root/ (pirʉ); at night, in order to sleep, burn rubber, rub it on the door, on the door bar (anaxu, "nose"); the kʉadopa does not come in, the rubber stinks and [533] he does not like the smell. Take his food to the grave; if you do not intone the song (erému) of the kʉadopa, he does

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795 not go to the sky. Because of this, having slept several days,
[533] put mingáu in two small gourds; put the mingáu on the middle of the grave; two persons armed with clubs intone the song; when the song is over the two gourds are smashed and they flee. Coming from afar, one gives a blessing, saying:
[539] Kxukxukú (come, take heart!). When stopping, there is a blessing, saying: Aúfá! Go inside the sky, to our people, to our mother, to our father, here there is no one, inside the sky it is good, go, we, too, are going to die, it is said, -- the piahi teaches.

/253/ Another passage has kxadopa in the form of a tatou (Mugaru, Dasypus) in the middle of an abandoned village /tapéra/ and advises that no one should walk where a fight took place.

For a while bodies and spirits wander through the world, and the words of the piahi contain repeated descriptions of dead men's heads that wander about at night, livers that sit in doorways, or intestines on which one might step at night. Finally the shadow is free, and it climbs to the sky on a ladder of spun cotton, which passes underneath the star Tukuecó. At the entrance of the sky there is the Urubu with his trap; those who do not have pierced ears and nostrils and do not wear feathers are blessed by the Urubu, i.e., blown upon, and fall into the trap; those who are marked run no danger, and they go see Nahoéri.

19 Nahoéri is a word whose etymology cannot be explained
194 by means of kxura-itano; fortunately, the language of the
795 Acawoyos /Acawai/, Indians of British Guiana, Caribas like the Bacaeris, offers us a valuable hint in this connection. In the translation of the first part of Genesis, and of the Gospel according to St. Matthew, recently published in London (11)

11. I owe the acquisition of this book to the kindness of my friend, Dr. Eduardo Prado, to whom I repeat my thanks.

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19 by the "Society for promoting Christian Knowledge," one reads
174 the famous sentence, the spirit of God moved over the waters
775 (Genesis, 1, 2): Makochima "Yakwarri" otoupou tona poropoiru, in which "Yakwarri" means "spirit." "Nakoeri" and "Yakwarri" are identical words, semantically and even phonetically, since the n in the former, like the y in the latter, are /254/ possessive indices of the third person; the double r in the English transcription must represent the same sound as the single r in our writing (12) and the transformation of a into o, o into w,

> 12. Any statement is risky concerning the English R. "The consonant R," writes Miss Laura Soames, "is the most perplexing element in our language. Dr. Ellis wrote in 1875, that after more than thirty years study, he was not certain whether he had yet mastered its protean intricacies" /cited in English/ (An introduction to Phonetics, 5d. London, 1891.)

is a common occurrence in the most diverse languages. We can thus translate Nakoeri in the same manner as Yakwarri, as "spirit."

19 The Akawoio /'cawai/ permits us to take another step
174 forward. Fiat lux in Akawoio is: Akwa weijima. Would not akwa, "light," be the radical of Nakoeri and Yakwarri, and would not these names signify originally "the shining one"? The answer is reserved for the grammarians; the continuation of this study may possibly prove that the affirmative is to be concluded from the Bacairi traditions.

528 The Bacairi himself will explain further what he knows about Nakoeri.

/234 cont./

539 When there were no people here on earth, long ago, Nakoeri was born, when there was no sun, no moon, etc.; only Urubu existed, only Jaguar existed in the old days; then Nakoeri at first made only the Tamandua, the Jaguar and the Pig, he made the animals because he was the lord of prayer (ureiri);--then he made the clay for the grandfather of the Bacaeris; --Nakoeri made the clay (orina) like people; when he finished doing this, he put it at the foot of a tree.--In those days, long ago, Nakoeri did not have a house. When he finished putting it at the foot of a tree. Nakoeri blessed it,--when he blessed it the grandfather of the Bacaeris was born,--small as the animals was born the grandfather /235/ of the Bacaeris; when they grew, the ancients ate dry wood and rotten wood; without arrows and without clubs the grandfathers of the Bacaeris were born; --when they increased, the grandfathers of the Bacaeris appeared each with his own people; men alone, women alone, etc., went the Bacaeris;--when they grew, when he made the animals, Nakoeri made a cotton ladder,--of spun cotton Nakoeri made it;--under the ember star xaxoreg and at the door of Nakoeri;--when he made his ladder, Nakoeri went to the sky;--this is why the souls of the Bacaeris go to their captain Nakoeri;--when he reached the sky, Nakoeri made his house;--after he made his house, Nakoeri made a lake; cold is Nakoeri's lake; in the sky Nakoeri does not die;--at dawn Nakoeri goes to bathe in his waters; when Nakoeri goes, he undresses;--at dawn Nakoeri becomes a boy;--in the afternoon Nakoeri becomes an old man;--not on that day alone (i.e., every day) Nakoeri undresses;--Nakoeri's lake does not dry up, there are very many (aki kuru) souls of the Bacaeris in Nakoeri's village;--there are locusts, there are urubus, there are large sparrow-hawks, there are white sparrow-hawks.

Wara bakairi una ine atuis, concluded I.; "this is how the Bacaeri tells this story." Let us leave it, however, for it will be more to the point farther on.

/255 cont./

539 775 In the sky the shadow, which had already been changed previously into a Khadopa or Caprimulgus, reaches its final evolution by transubstantiating into the Yamũra. For an explanation of this word, we need not go beyond the Bacaeri: Yamũra plainly comes from Yamu, "dark," and signifies the dark, gloomy principle.

It is natural to inquire whether the icekiko, that is, the belongings, the "baggage" as I. translated it, which are put with the dead man, /256/ undergo a transformation similar to that of the owner. The texts do not answer categorically, but lead one to understand that this is the case, because the Yamũra own canoes, baskets, clubs, which are, however, in no way similar to those used on earth: they are animals. The reader may judge this according to the following passage.

537 545 Anta is the basket of Yamũra; Anta goes about on the back of Yamũra,--Yamũra goes to eat mandioca, to eat squash, to eat gourds, to eat beans; it is not the Anta that eats;--in the basket Yamũra gathers squash, gathers beans, gathers gourds, etc.; when he gathers Yamũra carries away.

Also the Queixada /white-lipped peccary/--the Queixada comes to the clearing to eat mandioca--the Queixada also comes on the back of Yamũra--it roots up mandioca, it roots up cará /Dioscorea/, it roots up batata,--when it roots up, Yamũra carries it away, the Queixada;--this is why Queixada is not to be found--Queixada does not appear because Yamũra hid it.

Also the Anta, etc.; at midday the Anta sleeps, it walks at night, etc.

Caitetú /collared peccary/ is also basket of Yamũra. Caitetú only goes in threes; it digs up tree roots, it digs up mandioca roots, it digs up cará roots, it digs up batata roots.

In his resting place, Yamũra makes mingáu, grates mandioca, cooks cará, cooks batata, bakes beijú.

/256 cont./

539
325 Tracajá /a species of turtle/ is the gourd of Yamũra;--inside the Tracajá he mixes and seasons his drink, he drinks his drink;--Tracajá is the maracá /gourd rattle/ of Yamũra, etc. Jahú /Paulicea lutkeni/ is the canoe of Yamũra--inside of Jahú he grates mandioca, extracts the polvilho /fine manioc flour/, prepares manipueira /milky juice of grated manioc/, etc.; this is why, when Jahú is caught, one pays--one pays with mingáu, one pays with pirão. Yamũra comes to drink mingáu in the house,--this is why one puts mingáu on the path, puts pirão, etc.

/257/ Also the Jacaré /cayman/: Jacaré is the grater of Yamũra--it grates mandioca, it grates cará, it grates batata, etc.

Also the Sucuri /water boa/ is the net with which Yamũra fishes--Yamũra catches deer /veado/, catches paca, catches cotia /agouti/, etc.; this is why, when Sucuri is killed, there is thunder, there is rain, etc.

The pintado fish is the club of Yamũra;--the Ray is the baking grill of Yamũra; on the top of the ray, Yamũra bakes his beijú, bakes his fermented mandioca, bakes his polvilho, toasts mudubim.

A naturalist might note in connection with this passage that the Cotia (Dasyprocta aguti) "spends most of the day hidden in a hollow trunk or in a hole underneath the roots and at nightfall goes out looking for food"; that the Paca (Coelogenys paca) "leads primarily a nocturnal existence, sleeping during the day in a hole which it digs itself, preferably underneath the roots of a tree, and comes out at nightfall"; that the Marsh Deer /Veado galheiro, "big-horned deer"/, at least, "in late afternoon, after sunset, during the night, and at dawn comes out in search of food"; that Queixada and Caitetú (Dycotyles) come out "now during the day, now at night, in search of food, digging the ground for roots"; that the Anta "in inhabited regions leads primarily a nocturnal life;

/257 cont./
539 in quiet areas, where there are no human beings, it is always
825 on the move in the morning and afternoon, except during the hot hours in the middle of the day which it "spends sleeping"; in other words, all of the phrases between quotation marks, taken from the book by Dr. Goeldi on the mammals of our land (pp. 92, 99, 103, and 106), confirm what has been said concerning the shadowy character of the Yamũras.

539 /258/ Other considerations, however, seem to us of
174 greater moment.

First of all, in the enumeration of the belongings of the Yamũras, we have a basis for a list of the cultural acquisitions of the Bacaeris. We learn that they had nets for fishing before [227] they had nets /hammocks/ for sleeping, that they traveled by [352] water when they did not yet have pestles, and that they proba- [501] bly had maracá before they had the masks with which they [412] appear at their festivals. [532]

We also see that although theoretically the abode of the
539 Yamũra is in the sky, a large part of his existence is spent on
776 the earth from which he derives his sustainance. Subsistence, however, is not his sole concern; free of the contingencies of time and space, he travels swiftly as the wind, he is an envious being who spies upon all actions and weighs upon the living with crushing pressure. There is hardly an act that he does not influence: gestation, childbirth, alimentation, festivals, walking hours, everything falls within his inexorable reach, as we shall see later. It would seem that the Bacaeris could paint their bodies as they please. But this is not so.

776 Yamũra does not like urucú, --this is why one must not
789 scatter the urucú seed, says the piahi;--Yamũra goes into the
124 houses of people with children, --this is why we burn the juice
302 of the rubber tree--when it is burned it is rubbed on the door;--fathers of boys, when they go to the river, paint themselves with genipap, --paint themselves with urucú, --so Yamũra thinks that it is blood; if the boy's father does not paint himself

/258 cont./

776 and goes to the river. Yamîra throws himself in the water;--
789 he likes guanandi /Calophyllum brasiliense/ resin;--burned
824 cotton seed makes Yamîra run far /259/ away; Yamîra is very
302 fond of colored clay and loam;--he does not like copaiba resin;--when jatobá is burned Yamîra does not like it, says the piahi.

796 Finally, since there are certain animals which for him are
825 a means of subsistence, his ferramenta /iron tools/, if it is permissible to say this in connection with peoples who have not reached the metal stage, it is natural that Yamîra should protect them with the same care and vigor with which a Bacairi
[784] would protect his canoe or his bow. There are animals whose injury is punished immediately: for example, the Sucuri, in one of the passages cited above, or the Topidhi, a little bird that will be dealt with more conveniently later on. These are truly tabú or tapú, an expression used in Australia, and which, being widely known, demands no explanation. It is possible to come to terms with regard to the others, and this is done in a most reasonable way, by giving to the Yamîra in prepared form the food that he would have to prepare in the campo.
[782] It is mandatory, however, that the dead animal be put to good
796 use; otherwise antas, pacas, and pigs will attack clearings,
[532] destroying them; and to propitiate the Yamîra it is necessary to give a feast, naturally masked, which they attend incognito. After eating well, they regard themselves as satisfied and the scourge ceases.

825 The following passage expresses more clearly the idea of
796 payment, and, although it is somewhat repetitious, it is not
782 redundant.
796

If the Guariba /howler monkey/ (Mycetes) is killed, it must be paid for, says the piahi; if the macaco Coatá /spider monkey/ (Ateles) is killed, if the Preguiça /three-toed sloth/

/250 cont./

825 (Bradypus) is killed, pay for them with mingáu;--if no payment
796 is made, Yamîra will seize our shadow; Imiga (Cebus?) /260/
782 is the domestic animal that is the creation (eri) of Yamîra;
796 if you cut down forest in which Yamîra dwells, pay for it;--
seek out a place to hold a festival; makanari is payment for
the forest (13);--then, when Yamîra had drunk mingáu, he

[114] [115]

13. After he had dictated this passage, I. expressed doubts as to whether the dance was the makanari or some other one.

goes far away (14).

[191] [114]

14. Matías Ruiz Blanco notes a variant of the same idea among the Indians of Perirá (Colombia): "When the Indian brings in a deer or wild boar, the woman comes out with a tutuma of the drink that they make out of maize, and she opens the animal's mouth and gives it some to drink out of courtesy so that its soul will tell the others about the good treatment given to it" (Conversión de Perirá, 64, Madrid reprint.).

796 Makanari is the name of one of their festivals, and this would be the proper place to discuss them, if unfortunately, the scanty information that exists concerning this were not deficient, concealing all the ritual and devotional aspect which is its essence. We shall return to it on another occasion.

/260 cont./

796 for now merely stressing the following on this point: the masked dances and festivals are true religious ceremonies.

796 756 Let us now consider the piahi, whose important role has already been indicated.

One word suffices to describe him: the piahi is a Yamîra.

Piahi is a word that, with slight variations, appears in several South American languages and, like Curahiba can be interpreted in various ways. In Bacaeri it is related perhaps to epiwado, "payment," an idea whose scope we have already had occasion to mention. Basically /261/ it means the curer, the doctor. Thus it must not be confused with "sorcerer": ome-odo, "the lord of poison," may take a person's health and life; amapõcodo, "the lord of the hand of the dead," can vanquish the "lord of poison"; but both are mortal, while the curer is immortal and controls the forces of nature.

756 A few examples taken at random will show how the piahi appears to the mind of the Bacaeri.

796 756 793 The son of a curer was walking with his father, when suddenly he was attacked by a jaguar. He defended himself as best he could, and, arriving home, he said: I have beaten a jaguar.--You are lying, said the curer, you have beaten me. This proves that the curer can get into the bodies of animals, or, to use the native expression, "make an animal his shirt."

Parutamido killed a tatou at the edge of a lake, cut it open, washed it, and refused to hand it over to the Yamîra who demanded it in the water, as an animal of his creation (/). To punish him, the Yamîra drowned him. When some time had passed without news of him, a curer who was his brother-in-law dreamed of what had happened to him. He went into the lake, where the Yamîra explained why he had drowned Parutamido, treated him very well, presented him with [illegible], with beijûs, and taught him the dance of the [illegible]. This shows what different relations the yamîras

/261 cont./
776 have with the piahi and with the common people (wanololo,
752 from waono, "first"; cf. Ger. "der erste der beste" /first come
773 first served/.

At the waterfalls of the Paranatinga, a fearsome place
776 where Keri and Came tossed the Mama, an enchanted red
778 stone /262/ with which they killed Mero and Arimoto, there
756 is underneath the Mama the dream (Vêdu) which they tore from the lizard's eyes. There dwells the father of smallpox (turi); those who come near him fall ill; when the time for the leaping of the maurimaua /a kind of fish/ comes, anyone nearby who talks or laughs is thrown into the water. The curer runs no risk by coming near; if he becomes angry, he can bless the sleep and this one gets up and wanders off.

756 How does the curer reach this fullness of powers which in his discourses he so often hurls at those whom he contemptuously calls "common people"? Through a very long and painful apprenticeship, which few persons have the courage to undergo to the end and to the letter.

First of all, the curer candidate (piahi-he-ini) must find an experienced curer who will tell him what he must do and protect him against the enemies whom he is bound to encounter. On his part, in addition, the future curer must not leave a single breach through which the enemy, the Kaówi, might enter, the so envious and so evil yamîras, whose principal occupation, it would seem, is to go in search of the slightest carelessness in order to punish it inexorably.

Such is the object of the rigorous training to which he must submit if he wishes to rise to the heights where the true curer dwells.

[276 The novice begins by drinking various drugs, such as
825 timbo, pindova, vaimbé, and other cipos, in order to learn
262] the language of animals and of Kaowi, a sort of Curupira; he cannot eat pirîo, mingîu, fat, meat, lambari /a kind of fish/, flying things, /263/ tamanduas, or honey; his food consists exclusively of beiji and poivilho broth.

/283 cont./

756 346 He does not live in the village, but in a house apart, the dance house (K'adóeti), where festivals are held and guests accommodated, and where women may not enter; he cannot speak to the latter, and for greater safety, not only does the master curer frighten the novice by telling him that the voices he hears are not those of women but of Karówi, but he slings his hammock across the door so that his disciple cannot go out in an unguarded moment.

[825] After a time the master and disciple go wandering about, and the latter, who has easily learned the language of Karówi, begins to speak the language of the jaguar. This is a sign that the initiation is nearly over; the curer gives him the cipó de cobra /caapeba/ (atúkur-iolyu), the piahi candidate dies, becomes yamíra, and goes to the sky to present himself to Nakoeri.

796 825 Nakoeri, whom we already know, owns many domestic animals: araras, pombas /Columbiformes/, rolas /small Columbiformes/, jacú, jacucaca, mutum, maracanã, parakeets, parrots, toucans, araçari, anums, chickens, tamanduas, etc. What these animals have in common, only a naturalist familiar with the Indians' way of thinking could state with any certainty. Some seem to have been chosen on account of the brilliance of the plumage, others for their early-rising habits, and others, finally, because of the fact that they disappear for a time, reappearing fatter, as though they had dwelt in greener pastures.

756 796 The differences between the curer and the common yamíra begin after death: the latter, as has been seen, climbs /284/ a cotton ladder; the disciple and master climb together, but how this is done is not stated.

When the piahi-he-ini goes to see the sky, the sky dwellers see him coming from afar; Who goes there? the yamíras say to Nakoeri; then Nakoeri appears at the door;

/264 cont./

756 the piahi and his disciple draw near. Ah! It is you, you have
776 come? says Nakoeri;--Yes, it is I. I have come to see you,
replies the disciple;--Yes, you did not like your drink, your
beijú, your food, it is good, this is why you came, common
people do not come to my village, says Nakoeri.

Then Nakoeri puts benches outside and talks outside to the disciple of the curer; first, he puts down a red bench; then he puts down two white benches; the disciple does not sit on the red bench; he brings out three red benches (five in all, with the red ones closer to the candidate, to tempt him); the candidate walks by the three red benches without sitting down (if he sat down, he would commit a crime and would not rise to piahi) and sits on the white bench. You are an upright man (arurodo-lo), yes, you are brave, Nakoeri tells him.

Then Nakoeri fetches mandioca dough; he ties the tail of a red arara with cotton to the tip of the handle of the maracá, and he intones his song and plays the maracá; then the candidate's bench moves, and on the bench he goes inside the house; as he goes in, Nakoeri interrupts his song: You are going inside the sky, says Nakoeri.--Yes, Captain, I am, says the candidate.--Take him inside the sky, says Nakoeri to his companion, and he intones his song anew.

The bench goes to the sky, swirling; Nakoeri's companion holds on to the bench and instructs the candidate, who cannot see anyone. Here, Nakoeri's companion says, is the plaza of the old night; there, the /265/ plaza of the old heads, further on, the plaza of the old ribs, he goes on saying (15). The

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15. The word "old" in this passage corresponds to the suffix pïri or bïri, which, as we have already seen, indicates the past of the substantives.

candidate sees nothing, he merely hears the talk of Nakoeri's companion; in the sky darkness alone reigns, and thus he does not see anyone.

/285 cont./

756 After much wandering, the sky becomes cooler. We are
776 close to the village, says Nakoeri's companion. Then they reach the village of the hornets, and the candidate hears nothing but hornet language: Did you come, my brother? Did you come, my father? Did you come, my uncle? Did you come, my son? the candidate hears, but he sees nothing, because one cannot see through the darkness of the sky.

The bench moves on again, and then, as though awakening, they reach Nakoeri's house and go into it. You wandered much, says Nakoeri.--Yes, I did, Captain, answers the candidate.

After a short while, the candidate says to Nakoeri: Captain, I am going away. Yes, replies Nakoeri. You may go now; you will return again one day.

114 Let us now interrupt this passage in order to comment
115 upon it.

776 Dr. Carlos von den Steinen heard from Antonio something which probably referred to Nakoeri; he thought, however, that the story,--naturally poorly developed, since Antonio spoke in Portuguese, which he did not know well, and an Indian only narrates with pleasure and clarity in his native tongue--showed the influence of Christianity. Thus, when Antonio, unable to recall at once the name of the personage who dwelt in the sky, was searching for it in his own mind, the German traveler asked him if it might not be Jesus /286/ Christo.--"Crito mesmo /Christ himself/," said Antonio, possibly accepting the suggestion (16).

[13] 16. Unter den Naturvölkern Zentral Brasiliens /Among the Primitive Peoples of Central Brazil/, 346 /see 2:Steinen, this file, p. 409/.

/266 cont./

776 Is Nakoeri really an adumbration of Christ, a vestige of
174 Catholic catechesis? We are reluctant to believe it, because
177 the animals that Nakoeri creates, the role that he fulfills in relation to the admission of shadows into his realm, his investiture of the curers, the division of the various dominions in the sky, the novel means by which one journeys there, all point to a structure in harmony with the idea of the world prevalent among the Bacaeris. Either the Christian idea is totally unrelated to the Bacaeri conception, or it was completely smothered by the native chick-peas in which it was sown.

776 Granting that Nakoeri is a spontaneous and not a foreign concept, it is fitting to inquire as to whether he is indeed a luminous deity, as was stated above.

The darkness of the sky would incline one to place him preferably among the dark powers; but his clear differentiation from the yamũras- -which are, indeed, dark forces, as the name itself indicates--checks this first impulse. Further arguments are provided by the white benches on which the candidate must sit if he wants to rise to piahi; the use of cotton, a material so unpleasant to the yamũra that its burned seed drives them far from the houses that they haunt; and finally, the arara tail which he ties to the maracá. Actually in Bacaeri, kyavida tapabile{ ixu toroigo means two quite different things: the tail of the beautiful psittacine with which we are familiar, and the hour /267/ that immediately precedes the rising of the sun. "First appears maekudani (probably "anta deceiver" because the animal wakes up, thinking that day is near); then the yellow tail of the idKalokua arara; then arises the tail of the red arara; the tail of the red arara is not yet finished and the sun has already risen (kyavida tapabile{ tautarowo nadlepala xixi eiacali)," reads a text which we have before our eyes. Thus, both as a zoological object and as an astronomical moment, the tail of the arara proves that Nakoeri represents a luminous power.

/267 cont./

756 What remains of the story of the piahi candidate can be summarized in a few lines:

[974] After having spoken to Nakoeri, the candidate goes away; at the door of the sky, the shadow puts on its old shirt and, once in it, lies down and goes to sleep; no one can go where he is, except the curer who initiated him. In the afternoon he awakens.--Do you want mingáu, are you hungry? asks the curer; and when the candidate replies in the affirmative he goes to make him mingáu with sour dough. After having slept for three days, he eats fresh beijú, then polvilho and puherero. The curer does not yet allow him to leave the dance house; in the next moon he eats pirão; after two moons he may go out a little, and then he eats game, matrinxã, and white pacú. Three months later, he is piahi; he wanders about, goes into a jaguar, into an anta, into a queixada, etc.

756 976 Once consecrated piahi, we have already seen some of the things that he is able to do. We shall give one more story, however, to show the difference between piahi and yamîra.

/268/ Both have died, and it is precisely from death that they acquire the power which makes them so feared by their countrymen; but after death the piahi returns to life by permission of Nakoeri, and then he never dies again, while the yamîra may appear on the earth, enter into the bodies of animals, even put on a human shirt as in the masked festivals, but in reality he never again lives down here below.

Both have almost unlimited powers over nature, but in reality the piahi is the more powerful, because the yamîra respects him and addresses him as "brother-in-law," and he has ways to placate the yamîra and even to scare him away, such as burning cotton seed, or painting with urucú the persons against whom the yamîra has been angered.

Both represent dark powers, but the piahi represents some luminosity which he acquired from his association with Nakoeri.

/268 cont./

756 796 774 It has been mentioned that in certaincases both the piahi and the yamũra can take the shadow of a person who has offended them; but only the piahi can return what he took; and, conversely, he can return the shadow stolen by a yamũra.

825 196 This leads us to mention Topiehe, a Mato Grosso bird which we were unable to identify and in whose name there is probably the same radical as is found in piahi and epiwado.

825 774 756 755 Topiehe, when killed, steals the person's shadow; this is why Topiehe is not killed; it takes a person's shadow far away; then the person dies. The house of Topiehe is in the sky; the Topiehe does not die /269/ really, says the piahi. The one who (seemingly) killed the Topiehe becones cold; when he reaches home, he falls ill; then the piahi is called, and when he arrives, the bench is washed very clean; then the tail of the arara is tied with cotton to the maracá. While the curer is doing this, no one speaks, and the fire is put ou; the bench is placed at the door, and the curer holds it, plays he maracá, and then shouts. When he is not near, yamũra doe not come quickly. When he arrives, the bench moves and if he curer does not make it fast, it runs away; this is why thecurer does not let go of the bench, on which sits yamũra, with whom the piahi converses: Don't you see, relative, I am calling, I am talking, I am singing, I am shouting, says the curer. I did this, because he committed this crime (idutudoho, answers Topiehe.-- He is a human being, he does not know wat he is doing, that is why he killed you, answers the curer. When the piahi spoke, Topiehe said: Take him. When the corpo was grasped our shadow is above and then the murderer gets well. After the return: I am going away. I heard your shou and this is why I came, says Topiehe. When Yamũra goesaway, the people talk, the curer goes to the patient; he wassick because he killed Topiehe; Topiehe is not to be killed, saysthe curer.

/269 cont./

75 For his part, the curer can also steal the shadow of a person.

He takes advantage of the sleep of the one against whom he is angry (piahi iewirocenibüri), and, seizing the shadow that is passing by, he takes it to various places, asking it mercilessly whether it knows where it is. Soon the piahi iewiroceni-büri feels cold and feverish and falls ill. The grandfather and the mother beg for the protection of the curer: Come to see my son, says the mother; come to see what is making this son of mine sick. ' If they do not say this, the piahi makes the person die. /270/ If they do say it, the piahi replies: "Your son is a coward, this is why he is ill; but he is lying only so that no one will know that it was he. In the afternoon he goes out shouting down the path; at night he returns home shouting. he orders the fire to be put out, and the ceremony is almost the same as for the Topiehe, and the curer's payment is a cotton netting.

At the end of this story which we are summarizing, the power of the curer is stressed once more.

756 Piahi wanders about with yamüra, wanders about with the jaguar (udo-do, the same radical as udo, udorüri, "enemy"). he goes to the sky, he goes to the water, he goes into the snake, he goes into the sucuri /=anaconda/, he goes into little birds, he goes into any flying thing; this is why he frightens us; inside the snake he bites us, inside the jaguar; he knows who dies; he goes like the wind, he goes into the village, he goes nearby, he tears down houses with a hook, he does all these things when he is angry.

770 Thus, the Bacairi sees three great forces in the world:
775 Nanoru, inactive, kind, and remote, who requires no cult
782 because he does no harm; yamüras, souls of the ancestors, who have gone to the sky and, while able to do good, can likewise do evil and must be propitiated continuously; the piahi, yamüras

/270 cont./
of a higher order because they come back to life after they have died and return to live among men.

Aside from these three principles, we find unclear figures and concepts, probably vestiges of older ideas.

Dr. C. v. d. Steinen speaks of Kitaino oroiko, which he translates as "devil." I. is not familiar with such a being, but simply /271/ Kitãino, evil beings who dwell in the forest or in the hills, assume various forms, eat mice and small birds, do not pass water, hide dead game and the arrows shot, the things that fall from people's hands; answer the shouts of a person, and shout in order to mislead those who walk through the forest.

Of the same type are: Kitarowi, who goes about at night, carrying a toad for an ax, always animated by the desire to do evil to the Bacaeri, but usually duped by the latter, in short similar to the Curupiras of the Amazon as they appear in the stories collected by Barbosa Rodrigues; and Twanagoroto, the lord of the hunt, easy to identify because one side of his chest is larger than the other, and he kills against it the persons who offend him--a figure similar to the Caipora of the Tupi.

There is also mention of a lake where the grandfather of the cachorro fish, the grandfather of the piranha, the grandfather of the snake, the grandfather of the otter, the grandfather of the needlefish, the grandfather of drums, etc. dwell. Ghosts appear in the middle of the water. No anta, capybara, or queixada goes there, no flying thing flies across it. Ancient Bacaeris took a canoe there, but a whirlpool overturned it, the Kuriskio (a sort of enchanted otter) ate them, and only the dead men's bellies appeared.

The jaguar auší, the horse auší, the queixada auší, the turtle auší, the crab auší of fresh water, etc. are also there. Everything is swinging at the edge of the water. The Kuriskio and the Kuxuiba shake their heads which sound like thunder, and those who hear this sound fall ill and die, and those who see the grandfathers of the animals also die. /272/ At the edge of the lake there is a swamp, and the lake is the semen of animals.

/272 cont./

829 The idea of "Lord" appears often, but it is not easy to
776 understand what it means. When a Bacaeri states that the white
825 man is the lord of the mirror, naturally he means that he first saw this object in the hands of the Carahibas. What does he actually mean, however, when he states that the lord of the rain is the parakeet?

776 It also seems natural that, if certain things have lords, the latter be paid or granted some token of respect or homage. Only one such case is mentioned, however; those who make hammocks, before using them, sling them outside the house in homage to the Coandú /coendou/, lord of hammocks, so that their hair will not turn white. A story about a great cataclysm brought about by the death of the newt, lord of the wind, is also told.

In view of all this, the following list of lords is of minor interest, since it will only be of use if new comparative data become available:

776 The lizard is the lord of sleep; the fox, the lord of fire;
825 the parakeet, of rain; the newt, of wind; the curiango /Caprimulgus/, of the fishing hook; the urubu is lord of the bench; the sea snail, of the sun; the sucuri, of the fishing net; the heron, of the boquité (a type of basket); the uga (a kind of lizard), of the grater; the porcupine is lord of thorns; the kingfisher, lord of fish; the coendou, lord of smoke and also of the buriti net; the deer is lord of the mandioca, etc.

825 /273/ This shows that the Bacaeri does not make a very
794 great distinction between human beings and animals. For
196 "to wish" they use two words: ieyi, first person, which is applied to an animal raised by a human being; and anayida, a generic term, simply the plural of anayi, which means "who" and "someone." There is nothing strange about this, considering that human beings and animals have shadows and speak in the same fashion.

824 The trees also have shadows and speak.
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/273 cont./

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539 The captains of the trees spoke first, the piahi relates; the yellow trumpetbush, the red trumpetbush, the jatobá, the copaiba, the pau de morcego spoke, the piahi relates--aúfá! let us all go, let us ripen our leaves, said the jatobá, the piahi relates; yes, let us do it, Captain, said his people, the piahi relates; when they said this, the leaves of the trees all ripened, the piahi relates; when the leaves were completely ripe, they spoke again, the piahi relates; aúfá! let us drop our leaves, my people, said the yellow trumpetbush, said the jatobá, the piahi relates; when the captain spoke, they all responded, the piahi relates; when they spoke again, all the leaves of the trees fell, the piahi relates; when they had all fallen, their captains spoke, the piahi relates; aúfá! let us flower, my people, said the yellow trumpetbush and the copaiba, the piahi relates; when the copaiba and the trumpetbush spoke, their people responded, all of us, yes, we shall do so, Captain, his people said, the piahi relates; when they said this, all the trees flowered, the piahi relates; when they all flowered the red trumpetbush, the yellow trumpetbush spoke, the piahi relates; now let us all drop our flowers, my people, said their captains, the piahi relates; yes, we shall do so, Captain, said their people, the /274/ piahi relates; when they said this, all the flowers of the trees fell, the piahi relates; let us go, let us bear fruit, my people, said the yellow trumpetbush, said the red trumpetbush, the piahi relates; when they spoke, they sprouted branches, they bore fruits, the piahi relates; the rubber tree, the red trumpetbush, the yellow trumpetbush, the pucatudo, the tarumarana da mata bore seeds, the piahi relates; when their seeds burst, the red trumpetbush, the yellow trumpetbush spoke, the piahi relates; let us go, now let us burst our seeds, my people, said their captains, the piahi relates; yes, we are doing so, Captain, said their people, the piahi relates; when they said this, at the time of drinking, they drank, the piahi relates; when they spoke, all the seeds of the trees burst, the piahi relates; when

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the seeds burst, they spoke once more, the piahi relates; let us all go, now let us grow! said their captains, the piahi relates.

This was not the only occasion when the trees spoke, says the piahi: (Mãra-ume neiõ-ba cé ɨrepẽ̀li, ɨkɨebe piahi).

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/The incidental translation of Bacairi words as a result of grammatical analysis will be found in category 193./